

Documents include:

Funding a Campaign

Initiation of Campaign Planning

Use of Television and Radio in the Presidential Campaign

Comments on the Potential Candidacy of Ronald Reagan, September 26, 1975

Analysis of the campaign's perceptions, Style, and Themes, November 12, 1975

Slowing Ronald Reagan's Momentum, December 11, 1975

National Polls and Campaign Strategy, December 24, 1975

Attacking Ronald Reagan's Candidacy, April 7, 1976

Explaining Reagan's Victories in Texas and the Caucus States, May 1976

Barry Goldwater's Advice, May 7, 1976

Ford Campaign Strategy - Observations by George Will, June 11, 1976

Proposed Theme Speeches, July 14, 1976

Primary season campaign analysis

Debate Strategies, September 18, 1976

Campaigning in the South, September 24, 1976

DICK CHENEY

During the Ford administration, Richard Cheney held the positions of Deputy Assistant and Assistant to the President for White House Operations, titles commonly referred to by the news media and others as "Deputy Chief of Staff" and "Chief of Staff." He initially served as deputy to Donald Rumsfeld and succeeded him in November 1975 when Rumsfeld became Secretary of Defense

YOUR ANSWERS/RESPONSES

The following are some general recommendations concerning the content of your answers/responses during the third debate:

1. Keep them Short. Your answers and responses in the second debate were generally longer than during the first encounter. Your shorter responses tend to be better organized and more forcefully stated. Bob Hartmann makes the additional point that it would be very useful if you can answer just one question with a simple yes or no. Tester agrees with this but feels a brief sentence or two in explanation might be appropriate. It is obvious from reviewing the first two tapes that there is no need to use all your time and indeed you score your best points with short, crisp, sentences that make a point with one or two facts to support your argument.
2. Be Responsive and Positive. It appeared to us in reviewing the second debate that you often did not focus on the question or on Carter's response. It may be useful this time to jot down the question directed to Carter so you can refer to it specifically in your rebuttal. It may also be useful for you to very briefly repeat the essence of the question asked of you so that you can demonstrate your willingness to deal forthrightly and directly with the question. If you concentrate on the specific question asked and on the specific statements being made by Carter, you are more likely to come across in a natural, relaxed and responsive manner, much like your performance in last week's press conference. After giving a short, but direct response to the question you can go on and make the key points (themes) which are covered in the next section.

We recommend that you set a positive, up-lifting tone in the last debate. Demonstrate by how you deal with the questions and Carter's attacks that you are the President and the other guy is an over-ambitious, lightweight challenger. Always take the high ground and leave the cheap shots to Carter. Although we are not certain, the public may well believe that the campaign has sunk to a very low level of petty charges and counter-charges.

When Should It Be Established?

The organization could be established in two ways:

- ..as an immediate follow on to a firm Presidential commitment to run again
- ..as an independent group which does so without formal commitment of the President to run

The former approach is by far the cleaner one, since it fully recognizes the campaign reform act. Its disadvantages are that it starts the countdown on primary campaign expenditures very early in the game, and that it delays comprehensive planning until the organization is established. The latter approach has been used in the past even without the constraints of campaign spending laws. It would allow "set up" expenses to be excluded from the limitations. On the other hand, this approach may well be viewed as deviating from the spirit of the law.

Who Should Head it?

Again, there are some choices here. A person could be named as a fill in until the President was willing to name his top man. Or the top man could be named at the start. The former approach allows deferral of a tough decision, but it would also entail very close WH involvement and oversight. The blurring of the President's governmental and political roles might well recall previous campaign styles. If the top man could be selected early on, it would avoid this problem since responsibility and authority could be combined in one man. The key would be that this individual chosen have:

- ..the confidence of the President
- ..the stature to deal with national, state and local officials
- ..the managerial ability to develop and run what will become a large organization

How Should It Relate to the WH and RNC Prior to the Convention?

The organization must for legal and political reasons have a great deal of autonomy. The RNC, as mentioned above, will have to be neutral before the Convention. The friction points will probably occur in the competition for funds at all levels. One of the bitterest complaints against CREEP was that it acted as a vacuum cleaner for political funds, and that by the time the RNC started fund raising, there was little to be had. The



right head of the organization could set mutually acceptable ground rules with RNC. There will have to be some coordination with the WH in several areas such as scheduling the President's time. Close links at several levels, however, should be avoided if a real distinction between the President's governmental and political roles is to be maintained. A single WH contact point would be the best way to do this.

How Should It Related After the Convention?

It is unrealistic to imagine that an organization such as the one contemplated could (or should) disappear after the convention. It is also unlikely that the organization could be successfully folded into the RNC. Decisions on the specific form of the relationship fortunately can be deferred until the organization is set up, the top man chosen, and the date of the Convention draws closer.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



October 16, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

Mike

SUBJECT:

Last Debate

BACKGROUND

Based on our polling data, you clearly won the first debate and probably won, or at least did as well as Carter in the second debate. The panels polled by Teeter following the second debate showed you with an 11 point lead before the press reaction to your Eastern European remark began to play. By the time the press had blasted at you for 24 hours you were down 45 points. The lesson to be learned from this is that your debating style for the first two debates has not been a problem. Although we will suggest some minor refinements further on in this memo, it is clear that your Eastern European remark (while it did not particularly impact the viewing public at the time of the debate), became the focus of press criticism and it was the criticism that had the impact on the voting public. In addition, Carter succeeded -- to some extent -- in putting you on the defensive at the beginning of the second debate. He will probably try this again next time.

Your advisers believe you should go into the last debate with the objective of a clear victory over Carter. This will be the largest audience you will have between now and the election. You should use it to make a positive and forceful appeal for their votes.

OBJECTIVES FOR LAST DEBATE

Bob Teeter advises that you should attempt to reach the following audiences during your last debate:

1. Rural, moderately conservative, traditionally GOP voters;
2. Traditionally Democratic-leaning, blue collar voters in the big suburbs; and
3. Upper middle class ticket splitters who also live in the suburbs of the big cities.

There are two major themes that appeal to all three groups:

- 1. Maintaining the peace, and
- 2. Lower taxes.

You should take every opportunity during the debate to make these two points forcefully and with as many varied examples and anecdotes as possible.

You must emphasize the importance of this election by pointing out the major differences between you and Mr. Carter, not the minor ones. You should emphasize the fact that he is inexperienced and unknown. Compare this with your record for the past two years and your vision of the next four. You should close with a direct appeal for voter support on November 2.

SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING STYLE

One consensus that has emerged as your advisers (such as Bill Carruthers) reviewed the second debate tape is that you appear to have been overly concerned with the television cameras. In the first debate you were more natural and appeared at ease while talking primarily to the panelist that asked the question. In the second debate you seemed more concerned with the cameras and thus appeared to lose some concentration on the substance of your answer.

This undoubtedly was a result of the many criticisms expressed to you after the first debate to the effect that you should look at the camera more often.

An example of how much more effective you are when talking to your questioner can be found in your excellent performance at last week's press conference. By relating directly to the questioner, your answers tend to be short, responsive and human. This may be because of the feedback you get from the questioner by way of nods or "signals" which give you a cue when you have fully answered the question. In any event, by concentrating on the panel in the next debate you should come off as more relaxed and candid.

Therefore, we continue to recommend that you essentially address your answer to the questioner, looking only at the camera when you want to make a point directly to the viewing public. This transition should be natural and keyed to the substance of what you are saying.

Also, you may wish to keep in mind if you do talk directly to the camera you really are not perceived (by the viewer) as talking to 80-100 million people. You are perceived as talking to just those people in the room watching the television set, which, on the average is likely to be a single couple or a family. Thus, you should keep in mind that you are talking to people in the intimacy of their living room and your tone should be more conversational than that of a stump speech.

Another point on which there is substantial agreement concerns the loudness of your voice when responding. Many viewers perceive you to be shouting and this is in marked contrast to Carter's responses which tend to vary in pitch and be much more modulated and low-keyed. Given the technical control the pool producer has over audio level, you can speak much more softly without any fear of not being heard or understood.

A third point which many have made concerns the appearance you give of being overly stern. Although this is helpful at times to indicate strength and dominance over Carter, the fact is, it has not varied in the two debates and you now come across to some as angry and strident.

To summarize, your advisers (principally Carruthers, Gergen, Tetter, Bailly and Deardourff), have two general recommendations concerning style:

1. Be more natural, at ease. Approach the debate as you did the press conference where you directly respond to the questioner, looking at the camera where it is natural to do so, but keeping a personal relationship between your questioner and yourself.
2. Vary the pace of the debate. Alternate -- as it becomes natural to do so, based on the questions and the statements by Carter -- between:
 - serious, stern;
 - hitting Carter directly and hard three or four times (not often and not in a knit-picking manner);
 - show some humor, a smile and even (if appropriate) a laugh; and
 - show compassion with a soft voice and perhaps obvious emotion while relating a personal experience.

Questions are being raised about the initiation of planning for the 1976 campaign. The memo examines some of the considerations which will shape that planning activity and suggests next steps.

Background

There has been some discussion about the role of the RNC in the campaign. This discussion, however, misses the basic point that at least until the Convention is over, the President cannot use the RNC, since it must remain neutral so long as another candidate might emerge. Therefore, some sort of a separate Presidential campaign organization must be established prior to the Convention. The pertinent questions are:

- What should such an organization do?
- When should it be established?
- Who should head it?
- How (if at all) should it relate to the WH and the RNC prior to the Convention?
- How should it relate after the Convention?

Discussion

What Should the Organization Do?

There are four separate types of activities which the organization can perform:

- ..detailed strategic planning
- ..fund raising
- ..local state and national organization building
- ..implementation of campaign strategies in primaries and general election

Strategic planning, at least in the early stages, could be done elsewhere; for example, in the White House. Within a short time, however, this activity would become extensive, involving the collection of substantial amounts of data, development of detailed flow charts, memoranda, papers and discussions with others. It would not be appropriate to have these activities carried out by an individual or individuals on the public payroll. The other functions, of course, could only be properly performed by a non-governmental body. As I write this, the wire is carrying an article on Jack Stiles which makes the point.



The press certainly has this view. Your post debate reviews will benefit considerably if you are perceived to have taken the high road.

By being positive and referring to the future you will not be on the defensive -- a crucial point in terms of "winning" the debate.

3. Give simple answers that communicate thoughts, not statistics. Many of us felt that your answers in the first two debates (particularly the second), while technically accurate and powerful, nevertheless contained so many statistics and complexities that the point you were trying to make was lost on the average viewer. Our review of the analysis developed by Bob Teeter (see Tab A) shows that you scored most heavily in the first debate with your statements concerning tax cuts. The only thing that approached this positive response in the second debate was your comments concerning the Mayaguez which came across as emotional, personal and in relatively simple, easily understandable terms.
4. Draw conclusions. We recommend that you end each answer/response with a conclusion which puts into perspective the subject matter just discussed and the differences between you and Carter. The people expect you, as President, to demonstrate your leadership by stating simply what these complex issues mean. You should give them the "bottom line". This is also an excellent opportunity to put Carter on the defensive as he attempts to respond to your answers. By representing his position in your conclusion, you tend to preempt his response by stating in advance the points he is about to make and why they are wrong or misleading. (We will provide some specific examples.)

KEY POINTS (THEMES)

As indicated above, after responding succinctly to the question, you should make the appropriate key points in order to "score" with the targeted audience.

We have indicated that the two most important points (or themes) to make are that (1) you are for lower taxes for everyone and (2) under your leadership we will maintain peace.

[In addition to these two points, we are developing some suggested responses to key issues.]

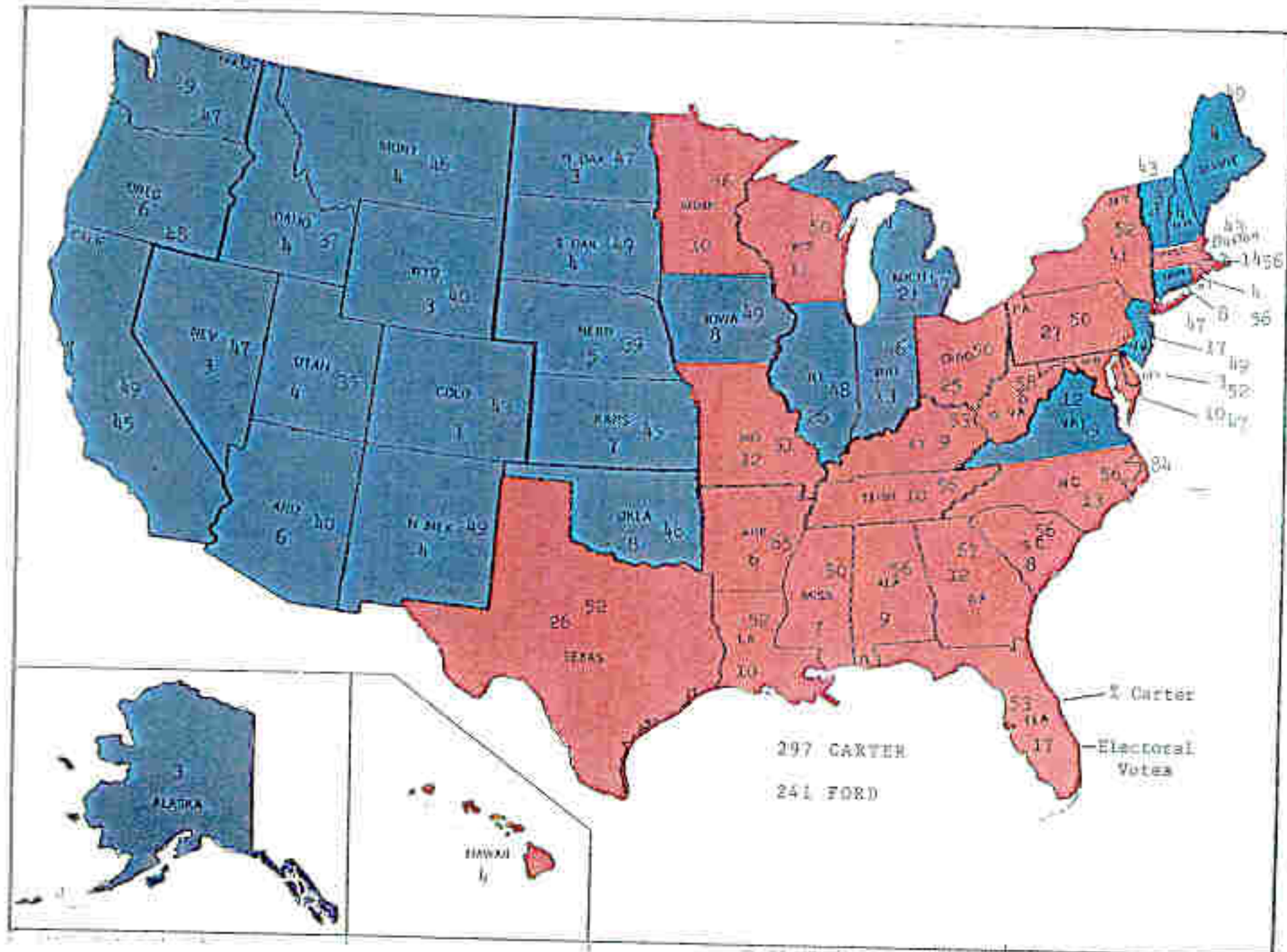
Nevertheless, it is not the substance of your answers and rebuttals that is going to "win or lose" the debate. What counts is the message you communicate concerning your own character, ability, and vision vis-a-vis Carter. Accordingly, I recommend that you spend as much time as possible over the next two days going over your answers with two or three of your advisers in a Q and A format.

SUMMARY

For the above reasons we believe you can decisively win the last debate if you:

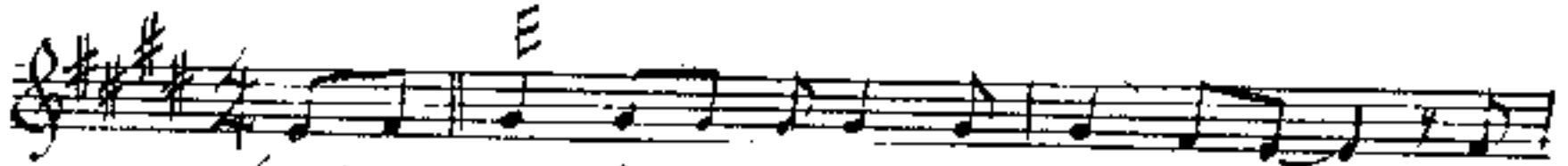
- 1. Emphasize the major themes of peace and tax cuts and mention other key "themes" we will present to you.
- 2. Appear relaxed and natural thereby conveying to the viewing public your personal qualities of strength, self-confidence, ability to deal with people directly and forthrightly, and compassion and understanding for peoples' problems.
- 3. Deal with Mr. Carter by appearing clearly as the President, on the high road, who is not distracted by the challenger. You should occasionally, and sharply, put him in his place with a forceful (but not strident) rebuke at the appropriate time involving an issue of importance.
- 4. Do not become defensive. Stress your record of achievement and talk about the future.

1976 ELECTORAL VOTE

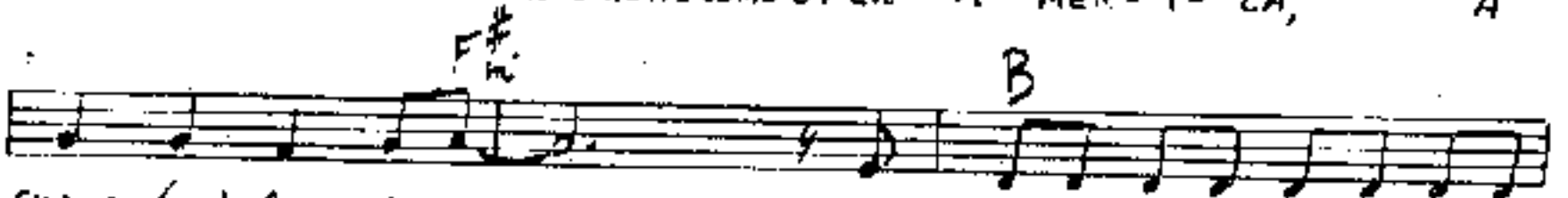


I'M FEELING GOOD ABOUT AMERICA

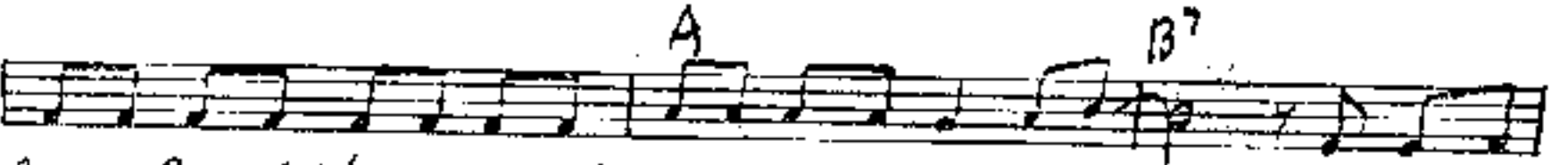
© 1976 By ROBERT K. GARDNER



THERE'S A CHANGE THAT'S COME O-V-ER A-MER-I-CA, A



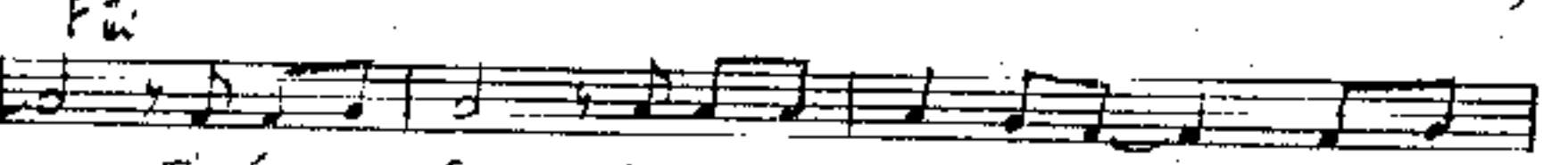
CHANGE THAT'S GREAT TO SEE, WE'RE LIV-ING HERE IN PEACE-A-GAIN WE'RE



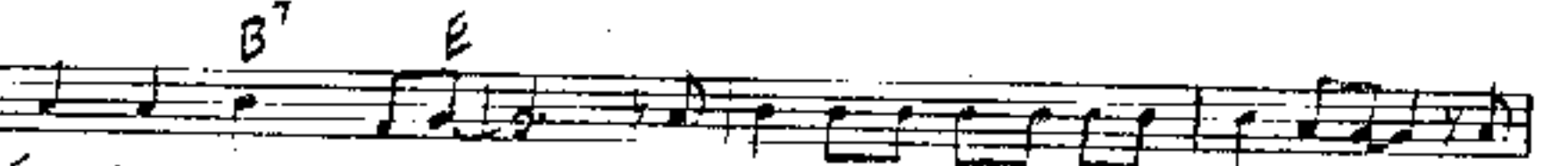
GO-ING BACK TO WORK A-GAIN IT'S BET-TER THAN IT USED TO BE — I'M FEEL-ING



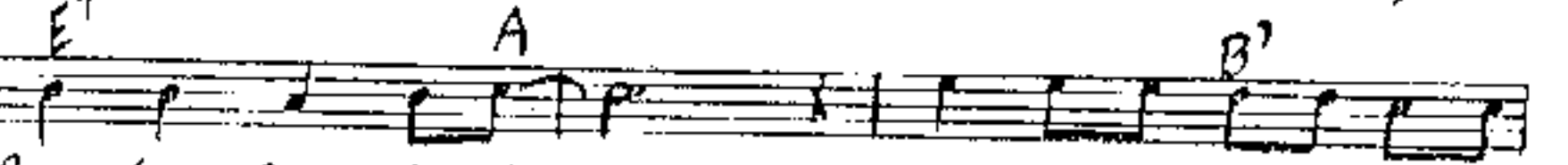
GOOD A-BOUT A-MER-I-CA, AND I FEEL IT EV-'RY-WHERE I GO,



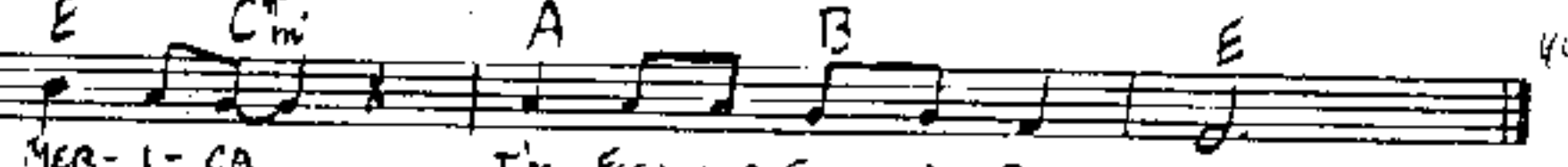
I'M FEEL-ING GOOD A-BOUT A - MER-I-CA — AND I



FEEL YOU OUGHT TO KNOW THAT I'M FEEL-ING GOOD A-BOUT A - MER-I-CA; IT'S



SOME-THING GREAT TO SEE — I'M FEEL-ING GOOD A-BOUT A -



MER-I-CA — I'M FEEL-ING GOOD A - BOUT ME.

David Gergen

David Gergen, a former Nixon speechwriter, returned to the White House as special assistant to Ford's chief of staff, Richard Cheney, leaving his position in the Treasury Department as a speechwriter for Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon in December 1975. His title was changed to Special Counsel to the President for Communications and until July 1976 his primary responsibility was drafting presidential speeches and statements. Gergen was independent of the main speechwriting staff headed by Robert Hartmann. In July 1976, Gergen replaced Margita White as director of the Office of Communications and restructured the office to reflect its augmented responsibilities.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY
MIKE DOVAL

FROM:

DAVE GERSEN *DR*

SUBJECT:

DEBATE STRATEGIES

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL

In our recent discussions, it was suggested that one debate strategy is for the President to be highly Presidential and to practically ignore Mr. Carter and Mr. Carter's arguments. To illustrate: it was said that if one end of the spectrum were represented by a complete brawl and the other end by the President treating Carter as a lighting technician, that we would go 80 percent of the way toward the position of lighting technician.

On that basis, it was further argued, the President would:

- Minimize mention of Mr. Carter by name;
- Not discuss the enormous costs of Mr. Carter's programs;

-- Not discuss the Democratic platform or the record of the Democratic Congresses over the last 40 years;

-- Not discuss precisely where the President diverges from the liberal approach to government and why;

-- And not discuss Mr. Carter's record of raising Georgia spending by 50%, increasing Georgia state employment by 25%, and practically doubling the Georgia state debt.

Instead, it is argued, the President should be above the battle and stick to his achievements and very generalized theories of government.

I want to make it plain that I totally disagree with this approach to the debates.

I do fully support the idea of the President being Presidential and not engaging in a knock down-drag out with Carter. He must deal with him deftly and with heat strokes that keep him out of a verbal wrestling match. But that is a matter of style -- how he acts toward Carter, his general demeanor, his grace and good humor. I am perfectly confident that the President will be exceptionally

good on the stylistic question. As long as no one tries to overprogram him and make him self-conscious, his natural sincerity, honesty and charm will come through to the viewer.


But we must be extremely careful to distinguish between style and substance. If the President avoids dealing intelligently and in a very thorough way with the substance -- and personally, I think his instincts toward strong, reasoned arguments -- he could create so many problems for himself that he runs a high risk of losing the debate.

Perhaps I am misstating what is being argued; if so, I'll be very relieved. But if not, let me tell you what I find so objectionable about an "above-the-battle" approach, or what could be called the "non-debate" strategy:

-- Substance Does Matter. It was frequently said yesterday that no one will remember what either man says, only how well they appear. That is a simplification that can be very misleading. Many, many people do care about substance. Issues do matter. And to a great many more people, the intelligence and reason that a man applies to a

question says volumes about his qualifications to be President. Yes, JFK won the first debate because he was more poised and confident than Nixon; but JFK would have lost that debate if his poise had not also been accompanied by very sharp, very well-honed arguments.

-- The non-debate strategy seriously underestimates Carter. Carter has made a number of gaffes by attacking the President so harshly in the last two weeks, so there is a tendency to believe that he will make the same mistake in the debates. We must not fall into the trap of underestimating the man. He is one of the shrewdest politicians in America today, and he has a very precise understanding of the English language. I have read a number of his speeches in the last few days, and I am convinced that Carter has the capacity to put the President's record in the worst possible light -- while being totally respectful -- and also presenting a very positive, very concrete, (and very phoney) program of his own. We cannot give him a free ride.



-- The President should not be on the defensive all night. Carter will continually be needling the President about what increases in unemployment,

vetoes, Nixon-Yard, medicoid abuses, etc., etc.
for the President to simply stand on his record and not draw the distinction between his own approach to the problems and those represented by Mr. Carter will leave him always on the defensive. He must turn the arguments around on Carter so that Carter is defending what many people have now come to believe is a bankrupt approach to government.

-- A non-debate strategy will reinforce the President's worst attributes: The public questions whether the President is competent enough to run the country. We know better, but many Americans don't. If the President stands there and responds with fluffy platitudes instead of hard, concise arguments, he will come across as a dummy.

-- The non-debate strategy ignores the President's hidden strengths: Two of the most successful events of the last 12 months have been the President's acceptance address and his budget briefing. They were successful for much the same reason: he was forceful, extremely articulate and extremely well prepared. He was commanding because he handled it so well. And people were surprised. If he comes into these debates with

sharp, very precise arguments -- arguments that slice through the Carter fogbank -- he will be an enormous success.

-- The non-debate strategy is also inconsistent with the President's highpoints of the last two weeks: One of the reasons that the President has been so successful in the last two weeks is not just the fact that Carter is hurting himself on the stump and the President is at home being Presidential, but that when the President has spoken up, he has very neatly cut Carter up. Three examples: Handling Carter so well in the press conference on Kelley, the comments at B'nai B'rith (which were very tough but were said with enough lightness that he got away with it), and the trust lines at Michigan. All of those lines are consistent with a strong debate strategy; they are inconsistent with a non-debate strategy.

-- The American people, and especially the press, have been led to believe that this will be a true debate. The President challenged Carter to the debate and said afterwards that he couldn't wait to pin Carter down on the issues. In fact,

we all want to smoke Carter out on the issues. The way you do that is to make it very clear why his approach will lead American down the road to more inflation, more unemployment, etc. To avoid doing that is going to leave the public wondering why the devil we issued the challenge, and leave the writing press with very negative feelings.

I fully realize that is is unprecedented for a President of the United States to engage in a debate with his opponent. And in doing so, he must be highly Presidential. But we wouldn't be in Philadelphia at all unless there were a reason for it.

What I am urging is not a 180-degree turn off basic strategy. I repeat: I do not support a slug fest or anything which demeans the President. What I do suggest is this:

-- That the President be very well prepared with sharp, well-honed arguments that keep him strong, forceful, and on the offensive -- on his achievements, on his programs, and on his philosophy.

-- That the President be prepared with very sharp arguments that show how different Mr. Carter's approach is and why it won't work. We have to pin

down Carter for what he is: a Yankee liberal in Confederate uniform.

-- That the President never be afraid to bring up the Georgia record where it serves to buttress his arguments. Carter should not be given a free ride on anything.

-- That the President's staff concentrate very hard on helping him develop, polish and sharpen the arguments. I am less interested in stringing a few eloquent words together than in ensuring that he has the major points in his mind and can hit them cleanly.

-- And finally, that the President have an opportunity to fully understand what the arguments are against the Carter positions. I would regard it as a gross dereliction of the staff's responsibility toward him to allow him to enter this struggle without all the weapons he will need at his command. He must not go in with one hand tied behind his back.

I would not have taken your time with such a lengthy memorandum did I not regard this matter with utmost concern.

BARRY GOLDWATER
ARIZONA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

5-7
COMMITTEES:
AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES
ARMED SERVICES
PERFORMANCE INVESTIGATION SUBCOMMITTEE
TACTICAL AIR FORCE SUBCOMMITTEE
INTELLIGENCE SUBCOMMITTEE
MILITARY CONSTRUCTION SUBCOMMITTEE
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT SUBCOMMITTEE

May 7, 1976

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I hope this reaches you before you depart for Nebraska for I would like to reiterate a couple of things I said to you on the phone the other day.

You are the President. Do not stoop to arguing with another candidate. Your speeches are a little bit too long. Get a good speech that is short and use it and use it and use it. Reagan's trick, as you know, is to have a whole handful of cards and he shuffles out whatever comes out to be ten minutes of speaking, and I don't think this deck has changed much over the years. Your speech writer has to be more punchy. It has to sound like you and no matter how much you have to rehearse it, do it.

You are not going to get the Reagan vote. These are the same people who got me the nomination and they will never swerve, but ninety per cent of them will vote for you for President, so get after middle America. They have never had it so good. They are making more money and they are not at war and, for God's sake, get off of Panama, but don't let Reagan off that hook.

God speed and with best wishes,


Barry Goldwater

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1976

F-
Campaign
Strategy

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVE GERGEN

FROM:

STEP HALPER SAH

SUBJECT:

Luncheon with George Will

George Will was the speaker at a luncheon I attended on Thursday. I spoke with him at length afterwards. His comments ranged over the contemporary political scene. I have noted some of his observations which are relevant to us.

On campaign strategy, Will pointed out that of the 10 largest states, all but 2 have Democratic Governors. Had a few thousand votes been different in Ohio and Michigan, they would all be Democratic. Furthermore, all have congressional delegations dominated by the Democrats. The 10 largest states bring you within 12 electoral votes of victory. In the non-Border South, with 120 electoral votes, Jimmy Carter is perceived more as a cause than as a man. Even though Will is double counting Texas and Florida, any Republican candidate has an uphill fight.

Will suggested that Ford might write-off the South and capitalize on the anti-Carter feelingⁱⁿ the West and Northeast. He suggested that many would look to Richardson but added that Richardson was a bright man and a poor campaigner and might add little to the ticket. Will then said, "If I were doing the picking I'd take Anne Armstrong -- she's a real pro, a great campaigner, bright and from Texas". He said that the Ford campaign was less astute than the Carter and Reagan efforts, probably too unimaginative to realize that they were in deep trouble and had to take dramatic and persuasive steps to get past the ho hum attitude that most people have toward Ford's candidacy. His point is that while Baker, Rumsfeld, Richardson, Brock, Evans, Wilson, etc. are all good men, something dramatic and unusual is called for. He implied that Carter as a cause must be responded to with a cause; that the Republicans can't win this one by just doing a good job -- we've got to capture people's imagination and make Ford's candidacy as unique as Carter's.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

JERRY H. JONES 

SUBJECT:

Formal Announcement of the
President's Candidacy

Dean, Bo, Ron Nease, Dick Cheney and I all agree with the Transition Group that the announcement of the President's formal candidacy should be as low key as possible. Assuming agreement on this point, only three matters concerning the announcement need to be decided -- the participants, the setting, and the timing of the announcement.

Participants

In keeping with the low key approach, Dean Burch recommends that campaign personnel be kept to a minimum and include only Bo Callaway, David Packard, himself and Bob Moot. As an alternative, of course, Dean's entire advisory group could also be included. Dean, however, feels that this would raise the profile of the event much more than we would want and recommends firmly against including the advisory board in the meeting. In addition he and I also considered the possibility of inviting the advisory group to a luncheon in the Residence after the announcement to indicate a movement immediately toward organizational matters. Again Dean, after some thought, feels that he is not yet ready to highlight the advisory group and prefers to leave them in the background for now. Dean states, and I agree, that we can raise their profile after the structure is set and we can get the appropriate coverage of the advisory group at a later time.

As for staff participation, the President and you should decide that question but I recommend that you keep staff to an absolute minimum and seriously consider not having any staff members other than the above mentioned personnel present at the announcement.

The President also needs to decide whether or not the First Family should participate in the announcement. The lowest of low key approaches would be to not include Mrs. Ford, Susan, Jack, (Liberty). In my view, that is too low key and I recommend that at least Mrs. Ford and probably Susan and Jack be included. This is a family undertaking and since there have been questions about Mrs. Ford's health in the past, I think eyebrows might be raised if she is not present. Also, Susan and Jack are most attractive youngsters and I think they can and should be included without raising the profile of the event.

Include:

A. Campaign Staff

Callaway

Packard

Burch

Mout

B. Advisory Group at announcement

C. Advisory Group for lunch after announcement

D. Meet with Advisory Group later

E. White House Staff

F. Mrs. Ford only

G. First Family members in Washington

Setting

There is unanimous agreement that the setting for the announcement should be in the White House rather than elsewhere in Washington (campaign headquarters) or out of town. A White House setting best associates the President's candidacy with his incumbency. The campaign headquarters tends to disassociate the President from the Presidency and make him appear to be just another candidate. An out of town event would be high profile and expensive.

If we are to use the White House there are four potential settings -- a) the Oval Office, b) the Press Room, c) the Rose Garden, d) some spot in the Residence such as the Library. Each will associate the President to varying degrees with the Office of the President but subtly shade that degree. The Oval Office of course gives the highest degree of association and the Press Room the least. The Rose Garden or the Library would be in between. There are other considerations, however -- a setting to include Mrs. Ford, Susan and Jack could be more comfortably arranged in the Rose Garden or the Press Room and somewhat less comfortably in the Oval Office (a Presidential meeting with his campaign team in the Oval Office would not be convincing if the First Family were also there).

On balance, I slightly prefer a Rose Garden announcement with the President coming to the steps from the Oval Office. Dean Burch has no views and is ambivalent on the exact setting other than strongly favoring the White House. Nessaen feels the Oval Office would be somewhat uncomfortable if we include the First Family and that the Press Room would be the most low key setting to use. However, he has no strong feelings on the matter.

Oval Office _____
 Rose Garden MR
 Press Room _____
 Library _____
 Other _____

Timing

Given our Traverse City parade on Friday, July 11th, the announcement should come either on the 7th, 8th, 9th, or 10th. Bo Callaway prefers that, if possible, we should make the announcement before the Congress returns. To do this would require a Monday announcement (the Senate will be in, the House will return Tuesday). As for news days, all are about equal, but with Monday a slight preference. Dean Burch tells me that David Packard, however, will be unable to arrive until late Monday evening; so we must pick Tuesday, the 8th, Wednesday, the 9th, or Thursday, the 10th, if David is to attend. On balance I prefer Tuesday and have planned the schedule around that as a tentative announcement date. Dean Burch has no problems with Tuesday.

Announce on:
 Monday, July 7 _____
 Tuesday, July 8 MR
 Wednesday, July 9 _____
 Thursday, July 10 _____

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY
DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

BOB MEAD 

SUBJECT:

The Role of Radio and Television in
Political Campaign

As requested, here are some thoughts on the role of radio and television in the forthcoming campaign that you might consider.

Communication is the essence of a political campaign. Candidates, in one way or another, must communicate with the voters. Over 170 million radios are in use everyday. Almost 90 percent of American households have one or more television sets, and use them on the average of five to six hours per day -- mainly at night during the prime time hours of 8:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m. (7:00-10:00 p.m. Central).

It is no surprise that political campaigns are followed on radio and television by tens of millions of Americans. The American public does not suddenly begin buying the Saturday Review or the New York Times during political campaigns. The circulation of these publications remains substantially the same. Because it is their habit, these millions of people turn to television.

An important point illustrating the use of radio and television during a political campaign. During the 1960 campaign, ten million people saw in person Richard Nixon during his 50-State campaign tour. However, 115 million people attended -- through radio and television -- the Kennedy-Nixon debates. The average television audience was 71 million people. The average family watched the four debates on television for 54 minutes of every hour (four hours in total). This is in sharp contrast to the very high "tune out" rate during regular paid political broadcasts.

I am not suggesting that President Ford debate his opponent in the coming campaign. There are pros and cons to debating, particularly for a President. Cons: In some circles it is thought to be degrading to the Office of the President. In some cases, the President cannot answer or debate a specific issue due to national security interests. Thoughtful silence and quiet dignity are sometimes made to appear as a confession of ignorance. Some candidates feel that debates require a man to keep his mouth moving whether or not he has something to say. It is made to appear that the worst thing that could happen to a candidate is to be caught without an instant answer to a complex question. Pros: He is the President. He is well informed on the issues. He has the best advisors in government and the facts to back him up on the issues.

I personally feel that the President should not have to debate another candidate. However, I would like to see him debate newsmen utilizing the one-on-one/two or three-on-one interview forum -- a forum where he excels. These interviews are conversational self-portraits. The President, like FDR, has the resourcefulness, confidence and wit to do well in this type of arena. It would demonstrate his leadership qualities and human warmth. An important point -- it is not in the President's character to downgrade a candidate. That is a characteristic the public notices, and it's a good one. The President should not even mention his opponent. He doesn't have to. As the President, he can speak about his accomplishments, his goals and what is needed to improve American lives. It is a perfect opportunity to let the voter learn for himself what kind of man is leading the country and who is seeking votes to continue that leadership. The interviews provide the voters with some rare insight into this man's character. Cronkite use to say that "television has an eerie ability to X-ray the soul." John Crosby, an early tv critic, observed that "television throws a merciless white light on phoniness" ... "the candidate had better know what he is talking about" ... "it is not his looks that television puts under scrutiny; it is his ability."

One thing to be remembered: In some circumstances and on some issues, television will have some influence on people. Some people are converted -- or think they are to some extent. Social Scientists conclude that the mass media plays only a relatively small part in persuading voters to vote differently from the way deeper influences would lead them. Communications is more likely to reinforce convictions than change them. So, our candidate, the President, should be projected as himself, and not projected to be what he isn't. It's the best way.

GENERAL REMARKS

It must be stated at the outset that every effort to be done on radio and television, both nationally and locally, should be done in extremely good taste.

Campaign spots and Presidential appearances should be dignified and serious and sincere in tone and presentation. There should be little staging and contriving, but a truthful presentation of actual events and happenings. The effort should not employ tricks, show-business or other gimmickry in one form or another.

We should not make the President out to be anything but what he is; a normal decent human being who takes the job as President quite seriously and wishes to continue to do a good job for the Nation and the people. The voter should be left with the feeling that he wants Gerald Ford to continue ... that he is needed ... and that he is the best leader at this time for the betterment of the country.

WE DO NOT WANT HIM TO SEEM TO BE RUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

WE WANT TO SHOW WHAT IT IS TO BE PRESIDENT AND WHY HE SHOULD CONTINUE.

WE (OR HE) SHOULD NOT ALLUDE ON HOW HE GOT HERE. HE IS HERE! IT IS NOT IMPORTANT ON HOW HE GOT TO BE PRESIDENT ... ONLY THAT HE IS PRESIDENT.

In addition, Presidents do not:

- a.) Kiss babies.
- b.) Stop and eat hot dogs on street corners.
- c.) Knock on doors.
- d.) Wait for steel workers at factory entrances to shake hands.
- e.) Say, "I hope you vote for me on November 2."

HE IS NOT RUNNING ... HE IS CONTINUING.

December 24, 1975

file

MEMORANDUM TO: RICHARD CHENEY
FROM: ROBERT TEETER
SUBJECT: National Poll

After studying the National data over the weekend, I am more convinced than ever that we must make some changes to change the President's perception. We will have a very difficult time winning a general election unless the voters' perception of the President is changed significantly.

The two most disturbing pieces of data are the 44% disapproval of the President and the fact that over 60% can not name anything he has done that has "particularly impressed them" since he has been President. It is significant that the 44% disapproval comes against a background of a hazy perception of the President rather than any one or group of specific complaints. This high disapproval comes from two sources. First the general perception of the President being indecisive and lacking a clear direction and secondly a more institutional attitude of negativism and pessimism. Almost three-quarters of the voters don't think things are going very well in the country and think it will be some time before they get better.

The most significant change in the data over the last year is that voters appear to be less concerned with issues of principle and structure and more concerned with their own specific problems, particularly economic ones. The general attitude in our current data is that the voter has, and has had for some time, serious problems and wants some help solving them. He is much less concerned than a year ago about whether or not the government is involved in solving them, and what level of government is involved. He wants change and help now and in most cases is looking first to the federal government for that help. It may well be this is the kind of situation that spawned the adage that successful politicians talk conservatively but act liberally. There is ample evidence in this data that many of the President's ideas are popular on an abstract or conceptual basis but are not seen as providing any immediate change or real help for the voters and therefore, not helping him politically.

This further indicates to me that we can't go through next year with the tax budget cut proposal being our only or our leading issue. The President must establish his perception as being a man who understands people's problems, who has a plan to help solve them and is decisively going about making the changes that will solve them. In short, he has got to be an activist, not simply someone who is against whatever programs Congress passes.

More specifically, the State of the Union should meet at least the five following criteria:

1. It should be seen as a plan to solve the problems the voters think are most acute. The President's program for next year must be perceived as a plan that will do something for people not just hold the line and keep their problems from getting worse.
2. Whatever specific programs or areas it addresses, need to be tied together by a common theme. In fact, I think we have reached the point where the President's program needs to have a specific name or slogan. While we may have been unimpressed by them, everybody remembers The New Deal, The Fair Deal, The Great Society, and The New Frontier.
3. Whatever proposals are in the speech, there needs to be a preceding paragraph to each section that promises help for that specific area. While I am not in favor of over-promise, every successful Democrat for forty years has done it. For example, preceding whatever the President says on unemployment, ought to be a short paragraph that says any unemployment is unacceptable and that his administration is going to lower unemployment in 1976. Preceding the crime section, there ought to be a short paragraph that cites the seriousness of the problem and says that his proposal will help solve this problem now.
4. He should announce as many administrative actions as possible to prove to people he is doing something about the problems rather than just perpetuating his 16-month-long fight with Congress over them.
5. While he should acknowledge the seriousness of many of these problems, the speech has got to give people hope and reason to believe that they will be better off in the future because Gerald Ford is President. The speech should also have clear underlying moral tone.

The issues which I think should be specifically addressed are:

1. Inflation and unemployment. Over half of the people mention one of these two issues as their leading issue concern. They are obviously the cause of the strong negativism and pessimism in the data. A large majority of people in the country are or think they are hurting financially and want the government to do something about now. Interestingly, only 7% of them think that the Ford Administration is the leading cause of the inflation but an overwhelming majority think the administration is not doing anything or enough to solve the problem.

2. Crime. One-third of the people mention crime or some crime-related problem as the problem that most seriously concerns them. This is a classic example of an area where the President's proposals are popular conceptually, but nobody has heard anything about them or identifies them with the President.
3. Energy. Energy has increased as an issue concern over the past 6 - 8 months and is an area we ought to take credit for what it does as long as he has signed the bill. The concerns over energy is 40% on high prices, 32% over our dependence on foreign countries, and 27% over the possibility of shortages.
4. Health care. This is another area where people want help but where there has been a significant change in the data from a year ago. There is now a substantial plurality who believe that they receive better health care under a private plan and that most think the expenses should be paid by private insurance plans. There is still, however, substantial support for government help for those who can't afford private health insurance or have catastrophic illnesses.
5. Increased aid to the elderly. While they do not mention it unaided as a serious problem, they put it at the top of the list when you ask which of a number of programs they would be most willing to have their taxes increased for. Under no circumstance can the President be seen as being for anything that would limit or cut back aid to senior citizens.
6. Education. Education is returning as an important national issue after a six or eight year absence. Education is still the leading middle-class value in America and most people see it as the only way their children are going to improve their situation and end up better off than they are. This is undoubtedly connected to the idea that a lot of people are hurting because of it are more determined than ever that their children are going to receive a better education than they did. The education issue is clearly one of providing better and more education as opposed to concern over increased cost.

In the foreign affairs area, the country has become more hard-lined toward our adversaries and more significantly, they see the President to the left of themselves on détente. Any actions or statements that would put the President in the position of taking tough stands with our adversaries, would be helpful. His Cuba-Angola statement made Saturday should be helpful.

As I have indicated before, our most important job is to repair the President's perception so that he is seen as a decisive, forceful leader with a plan for the country. In doing this, it is critical that the President not only have a simple, understandable plan of his own but that he avoid any more situations where he is perceived to be indecisive or he avoid any more situations where he is perceived to be indecisive or change his mind.

One item that comes to mind is the 395 billion dollar budget ceiling. If there is any chance he is going to have to move away from that in the future, we ought to begin to do it now rather than appear to hold tough on it and then compromise or back-off at the last minute.

It is also critical that we do better at getting administration officials, senators and congressmen and other figures out supporting the President. I still have not seen much evidence of people outside the administration out supporting the President. Some one person has got to be put in charge of orchestrating this program and it should include as many people outside the administration as possible. One advantage the Democrats seem to have is that they often get support for their positions from special interest groups such as the unions, the NAACP and so forth. Some support from academics, business and association people would have some third-person credibility and help us get the positive benefit from our position. This could be a two or three week effort following the State of the Union.

An Explanation of the Reagan Victories in Texas and the Caucus States

The unexpected Reagan success in Texas and in certain caucus states -- New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado -- seem puzzling. Turnout is very high, the people coming to vote or to the caucuses are unknown and have not been involved in the Republican political system before; they vote overwhelmingly for Reagan.

A clear pattern is emerging; these turnouts now do not seem accidental but appear to be the result of skillful organization by extreme right wing political groups in the Reagan camp operating almost invisibly through direct mail and voter turnout efforts conducted by the organizations themselves.

THE ORGANIZATIONS

-- There is a loose coalition of right wing political action committees. Many of these committees are set up by or in conjunction with Richard Viguerie's political direct mail firm. Others have been funded either by a wealthy sponsor (Joe Coors) or by special interest groups like the NRA. See Tab A for a more complete description of these groups. They include:

- . The American Independence Party (the Wallace voter) Viguerie conducted the Wallace fund raising operation and owns this mailing list.
- . The Public Service Research Council
- . The National Conservative Political Action Committee
- . The Right to Work
- . Gun Owners - Campaign 1976 (an off-shoot of the NRA)
- . AMA's PAC



- . Business and Industry PAC
- . ACU PAC
- . Committee for the Survival for a Free Congress
- . Heritage Foundation
- . Right to Life

→ They have been raising money for many years, and have extensive mailing lists made up of people interested in these issues.

THE MEMBERSHIP

→ Many of the members of these groups are not loyal Republicans or Democrats. They are alienated from both parties because neither takes a sympathetic view toward their issues. Particularly those groups controlled by Viguerie hold a "rule or ruin" attitude toward the GOP. They are deeply interested in their particular issues, they will work to support their positions, they will turn out to vote in larger numbers than party regulars.

THE POLITICAL OPERATION

→ The fund raising capability and the mailing lists enable these groups to carry out effective political operations in the primary cross-over states and in the caucus states through the use of three techniques:

- a. Independent advertising. Being well funded, they can afford to conduct independent advertising campaigns on behalf of Reagan. Such expenditures are not chargeable to Reagan's campaign.



b. Direct mail. They can target an effective direct mail campaign based on responses to fund raising mail using outrageous literature designed to motivate people interested in a right wing cause.

c. Voter turnout. The mailing lists can be turned into telephone lists and door-to-door canvassing lists and used to turn the vote out. These lists can be given to Reagan county chairmen or to the active organization members in an area for use in the voter turnout program. In a state where the GOP vote is traditionally small such an effort can be devastating. In caucus states where a few people attend the county caucuses such an effort can control the state conventions.

CONCLUSION

We are in real danger of being out-organized by a small number of highly motivated right wing nuts, who are using funds outside of the Reagan campaign expenditure limits. This fact explains the Reagan position on the FEC. If he can keep the FEC immobilized, this assistance to his campaign will not come to light. He is thus able to operate a relatively moderate campaign to capitalize on his natural support and obtain the winning margin from the right wingers support.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
June 14, 1974

K

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK CHENEY
FROM JIM RICHLEY
SUBJECT THEME SPEECHES



I think it is urgently necessary that the President during the next few weeks should give a series of talks setting forth his views and proposals for the next four years in a number of major policy areas. Inevitably, a good deal of attention is going to be focused on the scramble for the remaining delegates to the Republican Convention. But it would be fatal for the fall if the President during this period were perceived entirely in a political rather than a governmental role. The conference in Puerto Rico and the visits by the foreign dignitaries will help. But at the same time the President should be seen as a leader with a well thought-out government philosophy and a definite program for the next four years. Actually, this is probably almost as essential to winning the nomination as it is to winning the election in November -- our delegates need to be motivated positively, not merely through respect for incumbency or through the "Reagan can't win" argument.

The talks that I have in mind -- I am not sure what the medium should be -- should be aimed at giving substantive content to the campaign, somewhat as the series of radio talks that Nixon gave in 1968 did for his campaign that year. They should be directed at a fairly high level -- at opinion-makers in the press, and in the business and university communities, as well as at moderately well informed members of the general public. I think we need some comment from the Restons, Sideys, et al that "President Ford, in the midst of the battle for the Republican nomination, is saying some thoughtful things about the American future, etc. . . ." The July 4 speech in Philadelphia is in a class by itself -- it will have a large mass audience, and should be a real blockbuster. It must have a catchy theme, with a patriotic flavor, that can be summed up in a single phrase. The TV that night and newspapers the next day should say, "President Ford called for. . ." I still like my idea for a "New Bill of Rights," but whatever the theme is, it should be something that will light up the future.

The rest of the talks I am thinking about do not have to be as dramatic, and may be somewhat more thoughtful (though the July 4 speech should have plenty of thought content, too -- nothing could be more disastrous than a typical patriotic steamroller.)



One of the talks, probably early on, should deal in a general way with the qualities that the President would like to see in the American society of the future. We do not believe in a "planned society", but we do seek a society in which certain values, such as freedom, justice, morality and abundance can flourish, and aim to use the influence of government in a positive way to encourage their growth. I will give you some ideas for such a talk in a separate memo. Beyond this, the President should set forth his ideas in individual talks on a number of specific subjects, such as:

FOREIGN POLICY. The harmonious interweaving of the themes of national self-sufficiency and international interdependence. A description of the major goals of American foreign policy, with some examples of how the President has pursued these goals in actual practice and plans to pursue them in the future.

ECONOMIC POLICY. Our general commitment to a free-market approach as the best way to achieve material prosperity and maintain political freedom. The dangers of government intervention of the kind embodied in the Humphrey-Hawkins bill -- citations of both conservative and liberal economists. The British example of the bad effects of "democratic socialism" -- economically disastrous in overall direction, and socially repressive in administration. The proper role of government in helping to deal with problems that the market unaided does not solve or does not solve very well: structural unemployment; financial assistance to those kept out of the work force by age or incapacity; removal of discrimination in employment. A job-oriented approach to welfare. Taxation that is both fair and conducive to economic growth. The need for capital formation -- which translated means, job formation.



THE FEDERAL SYSTEM. The proper roles for federal, state, and local governments. The federal government's role in foreign policy and defense, in overall economic policy, in research and development, in protection of civil liberties and civil rights, in maintenance of basic standards in human services. The states as instruments for regional approaches to problems such as transportation and environmental protection, as innovators in human service programs, as agents of balanced growth among rural, urban, and suburban areas, as primary administrators of criminal and civil justice. The local governments as detailed administrators of human service programs and preservers of a sense of community. The problem of financing -- the revenue sharing approach. The fallacy of routing too large a share of financing through the federal government. The federal system: maintains national standards of justice and social development, provides flexible administration, meets special regional and local problems, protects pluralism, prevents government from becoming a threat to individual freedom.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. Objectives of the system of justice: social order, individual security, enforcement of contracts, protection of personal liberties. The federal role in helping local police forces deal with street crime and robbery, in weeding out corruption, in reestablishing respect for law, in fighting organized crime, in improving our system of corrections. What the federal government should do and should not do. The effect of narcotics. The importance of law in maintaining all other values.

OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUTH. Freedom for young people to find their own way. Where conservatives and liberals meet: the revolt against bureaucratic controls. The Administration's program for reform of the education grant system. Revitalizing the sense of community at the local level. The stake of youth in a growing economy. The need for dedicated and idealistic young people to advance the goals of a free society.

CONTINUED FULFILLMENT FOR THE AGING. The promise of America for its older citizens. The contribution older Americans can make to fulfillment of national goals. Preserving traditional freedoms. The importance of family to our social system. Protecting the fiscal integrity of Social Security. Protection against the financial effects of catastrophic illness. Estate tax relief to secure the work of one generation for the next.



Some of these topics may not be appropriate for the kind of development I have in mind, and of course others could be added -- dealing, for instance, with health care, community development, tax reform, or protection of the family institution. But I think we should concentrate on not more than four or five:

Let me know if you want me to work on developing any or all of the above.

Room - 3A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT *FS*

ME 9

The Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 provides for a number of considerations which have a significant bearing on the conduct of fundraising efforts for 1976. Three major considerations are as follows:

1. No more than \$1,000 may be legally contributed by an individual to the President's campaign from January 1, 1975 until the the conclusion of the Republican National Convention. An additional \$1,000 may be given by the aforementioned donor upon the adjournment of the Convention.
2. No more than \$10 million may be spent by the President's campaign committee for his primary campaign (including all campaign-related Convention expenses) and no more than \$20 million may be spent on the general election.
3. Up to 20% of the candidate's actual expenditure may be excluded from the limitation provision in order to defray fundraising costs. In short, the President's campaign committee (political and finance components) may spend a maximum of \$30 million for the entire campaign with an additional \$6 million which may be expended to support the solicitation program.

Two conclusions are inevitable:

1. The days of the "fat cat" contributor are over.
2. A super effective and cost-effective, broad-based fundraising unit, the likes of which have yet to be seen, is mandated if \$10 million is to be raised from a \$2 million investment (or \$20 million from \$4 million for the general election).

With regard to the last point, the highly touted CRP sustaining program which sought out the under \$100 contribution cost approximately



50 cents per each dollar raised. Most professional political fund-raisers will readily confirm that a cost of 33 cents per dollar raised is reasonable to expect when seeking out the under \$1,000 donor, especially so when the solicitation program must be started from the ground up. Simply stated, it is very unlikely that the maximum expenditure might be made for either the pre or post Convention periods, since fundraising costs can be expected to exceed the \$2 and \$4 million maximum exclusion levels. In fact, the cost "overruns" under the 33% estimate would run \$1.3 million and \$2.6 million respectively. These roughly projected costs would, therefore, have to be deducted from the general campaign budget, thereby denying to the political component funds which are already in tight supply for its grass-roots, media and related activities.

Only two alternatives appear plausible confronted with these facts:

1. Begin immediate preparation for the creation of a fundraising apparatus and solicitation program which will be successful in reducing its operational costs to an historic low.
2. Be fully prepared to accept public financing for a portion or possibly for all phases of the campaign and gear the fundraising program toward fulfilling the qualification requirements for receiving public funds.

The Democrat sponsors of the '74 reform law appear to have successfully denied the President the option of conducting his campaign from private donations. Clearly, this action was taken to prohibit the Republican nominee from outspending his opponent (as in 1972) as well as closing the door on any potential political issue which might be made of the Democrat's acceptance of "public funds."

Considerations regarding the formation of a Presidential finance committee and projected parameters on program design will be submitted in a subsequent memorandum.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR DOUG BLAVER

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH

Re: Attached Report

Attached please find my report which I hope will serve as constructive thoughts, distilled from the last ten months of on-the-road activity. My attempt is to offer suggestions based on my experiences to further serve the President in the upcoming months of campaigning.

perspective of the candidate so that the end product is an organized attempt at conveying that message that we want to get across. There exists in this Administration a serious need for someone to be constantly thinking in terms of the President's image as it relates to mass media. The thought process and strategy of Presidential travel should be produced for maximum effect. But this will not happen until the organizers of Presidential travel think in the terms that I've outlined. With an organized effort to coordinate the image and control the message, the end result or overall picture of our candidate should bear close resemblance to the picture that we're trying to achieve.

The role of the Press Advance Office should be the on-site coordination of the President's image to ensure that his activities are consistent with the overall idea. The press advancement should be briefed by the image maker as to: 1) the reason for the trip, and, 2) the desired goal to be achieved from the trip or the overall scheme. The press advancement's function then becomes one of coordinating the various elements on the road to achieve the desired goals. The press advancement acts as the producer on the road, sensitive to the problems that directly relate to the President's image. The press advancement must always be thinking in terms of media impact -- deadlines and feed times.

Unfortunately, sometimes decisions are made on the pre-advance or within the White House prior to the advance which lack a sensitivity to using the event in the best manner of promoting the President. In most cases the concerns of the locals and the people in the auditorium take precedent over the needs of the press who have an audience of millions. Presidential trips are not at this point produced for proper media impact. Therefore, by the time the press advancement arrives on the scene, many of the decisions have already been made.

In my estimation, the overriding perspective should be that of the producer or image-maker.

Once established, all advance groups should work to further this perspective and guarantee that it becomes incorporated into all aspects of Presidential travel.

I. PRIMARY SEASON REVIEW

The purpose of this report is to provide suggestions, based on analysis of Presidential travel, during the primaries, which may serve as guidelines for future travel during the upcoming campaign season.

In the eyes of the American public, the image of the President is derived from a kaleidoscope of different sources. The most important image-making sources are the video and stories that emanate from the White House and from the travels of the President.

Unfortunately, a large degree of the video that plays has been to the disadvantage of the image of the President. Consequently, there are numerous stories which we'd like to forget:

1. Ft. Lauderdale - motorcycle policeman falls off cycle on motorcade route (front page of Sunday Washington Post).
2. Miami - wreck on freeway en route drop-by involving pile-up of cars.
3. West Palm Beach to Ft. Lauderdale - rain on the President's motorcade.
4. Senland Farm Mishap - cows soil President's suit.
5. University's reaction to ticket situation at Nebraska commencement exercises.
6. Bowling Green - flashbulb incident.
7. Rain delaying second North Carolina trip. People waiting in Hickory Auditorium for three hours.
8. Vail, Colorado - ski fall on second press day.
9. South Lawn - hitting head on helicopter.
10. North Carolina - announcement of Callaway resignation on Air Force One upstages the entire trip.
11. San Antonio, Texas - Tamale incident.
12. Wilkesboro & Ft. Wayne, Indiana - balloon hops.

13. Arlington, Texas - bussing Kilgore Rangerettes.
14. Rogers Morton's Titanic quote with the accompanying photo during the President's visit to Detroit prior to the Michigan primary.
15. Ron Nease's participation on Saturday Night Live and the follow-up report on the negative White House response.
16. Bryce Harlow, Mel Laird, Rogers Morton meeting criticising White House Staff.
17. Stories on internal White House personality problems, ie. John Osborne's recent New Republic article.
18. Campaign '76 - Jim Jordan vs. Kennerly/Penny.
19. Kissinger's visit to Africa during the Texas primary.
20. Charlotte, North Carolina - Future Housemaker's speech and resulting story regarding the weakness of the speech writing staff.
21. Telling the press that the President plans to be Presidential this week.

Each one of these items have one thing in common they all reflect negatively on the President. These items do break down into two groups. Items numbered 1 - 7 are uncontrollable; incidents of this variety are simply going to happen. Items numbered 8 - 21 are controllable, some more so than others. In the last eight months no one person or group has made any overall, consistent effort to control the image to the end that the result has been an admixture of stories and related video which, though avoidable in many situations, took place and played to the disadvantage of our candidate.

It must be kept in mind that the response of the viewer is not to the man but to the image. Therefore, it becomes an absolute necessity that some one person or group maintains a constant vigil over the image and over the response. We have control over the candidate; we have partial control over the media. We have used neither of these elements of control to our advantage.

As a means of comparison, read through events numbered 8 - 21 again. Now try to itemize similar situations in the past eight months that have occurred to either Carter or Reagan.

II. BACKGROUND - A LESSON IN LOSING CONTROL

What can be learned from the President's activities in the primary season (January - June) as it relates to his image?

# of days (January 1 - June 8)	160 (100%)
Days in White House	115 (72%)
Days on the Road	45 (28%)
# of cities visited	97
# of events attended	235

What type of picture are the American people being fed? First, it must be established that the picture is fuzzy. It is the kaleidoscope or hodge-podge of information that differs from Tacoma, Washington to Bangor, Maine. But, everyone has some picture or concept, and it is our job to determine: 1) What that picture is and, 2) how to control that picture to our best advantage.

The best understanding of the overall image is through the analysis of television news coverage of the President. Television has taught us that it's not what you say that counts -- it's how the viewer receives the impression. In terms of television coverage, how much of the news came from within the White House versus on the road? At first glance one would say 72% versus 28% in terms of actual news coverage. But, the 72% figure is misleading as no news comes from the White House a full 1/3 of the days he's inside. Meaningful video of him is even more scarce. This means that only 77 days out of 160 days, news emanated from the White House, or less than 50%. 51.8 of the network news coverage of the President presents him in on-the-road situations.

The problem with this situation is two-fold. Once, you lose control when you step out of the White House, and you lose the most powerful tool which we possess, the incumbency. Two, the video of the President on the road looks no different from the video of Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan or Mo Udall. When edited together in three or four minute packages on the nightly news, the President's video playing next to Reagan's video bears little or no difference save the Presidential Seal or Air Force One in the background.

In media terms the power of the Presidency or the power of the incumbency has been squandered in the primary process. Since that time we have appeared more Presidential with the aid of the Bicentennial and the Queen's visit. Similar Presidential type settings of this nature should be constructed now for September and October, strategically programmed and marketed so as to provide a constant backdrop unavailable to anyone but the President of the United States.

III. STRATEGY

There are two key concepts that are essential for projecting the proper image: control and coordination. Some group, be it Press Office, Communications Office, or PEG should assume overall command and responsibility for the President's image. This group should always be thinking in terms of how will it effect the perception of the President. Everything the President does should be controlled to the extent that the picture which plays is the picture that we want to play getting across the point which we want to make. But, in order to do this, we must be in control of the image.

Hand in hand with this is the need to coordinate the other areas that bear on the President's image so that they work to his advantage. For instance his advertising campaign should be coordinated with his travelling schedule and his speech writing so that the message is consistent. The elements that comprise these different operations should all work together and work towards the same goal.

The most poignant example for the need for control and coordination is that the media is constantly writing stories about the petty jealousies that exist between members of the White House Staff and/or the PEG. Before we hit the road in September and October, this situation needs to be rectified as the first attempt at coordinating these dissident elements. Believe it or not, sometimes we are all striving to reach the same goal!

IV. GAINING MORE CONTROL & COORDINATION ON THE ROAD

The travels of the last months have taught us a great many things which may serve to help the image in the upcoming campaign season. Obviously we lose an element of control over the news when the President leaves the White House. But there are a number of things that should be kept in mind to help get the proper image across:

1. PROBLEM

McGovern on the '72 Campaign, "As I think back on it, I see most of the mistakes that I made were made when I was tired. I think that's true of most candidates, and that's going to come across more in the visual medium than in the written."

SOLUTION

The message of the day should be scheduled before 5:00 p.m. in order to get maximum exposure and avoid the tiredness problem. Also, reporters seem to become more negative as they become more tired.

2. PROBLEM

Nixon: "One bad camera angle on television can have far more effect on the election outcome than a major mistake in writing a speech which is then picked up and criticized by the columnists."

SOLUTION

We must be the producers on the road, so the angle and shot is the angle and shot that we want to play. The local stations and networks will want cameras in every alley, and along every motorcade route. We must guard against cameras being in areas where the President may not know he's going to be photographed. Where live television is called for it helps to have the advice of the television adviser to the President.

3. PROBLEM

In the early morning following a long day of Presidential travel, the President photographs poorly.

SOLUTION

The photo opportunity should come after 9:00 a.m.:

4. PROBLEM

Local interviews are done mostly in hotel rooms.

SOLUTION

It's no secret that anyone looks better on tape than film. Because of security and logistics, we never go to the local station for interviews. This is the tail wagging the dog. We should insist that all interviews be done on tape, and try to go to the local station where the sets, number of cameras, lights, audio, etc. will be air quality.

5. PROBLEM

The President is sometimes poorly lit so that his forehead reflects and shadows fall across his shoulders. Sometimes he has a halo look around his head and shadows under his eyes.

SOLUTION

This is primarily the result of being overlit or top-lit. The reflections are a problem when he won't wear make-up. However, the halo and shadows may be avoided by not being lit from directly overhead.

6. PROBLEM

The airport arrival interviews sometimes upstage the entire trip. If the President has no real statement to the press, their questions to him often put him on the defensive. Many times he is asked to comment on something that he is unaware of because of the day's schedule and having just gotten off the plane.

SOLUTION

Do the local television interviews on departure, so that at least he can say what a great city he has visited.

7. PROBLEM

To the viewer, airport arrivals portray an image of a mob scene.

SOLUTION

As has been stated before, the President should be the first one out of Air Force One. No one else should descend the ramp until the President is at the bottom. Also, stage the greeters in front of the press area so that the President has to walk over to them as opposed to staging them at the bottom of the ramp.

8. PROBLEM

Too many great shots have been destroyed by the agents working the line.

SOLUTION

Arrange with Dick Kelsner a previously secured photo opportunity and guarantee that his guys will back off when we've got a great shot along the line.

9. PROBLEM

The President looks non-Presidential when he wears hats and jackets presented to him.

SOLUTION

Have him hold up the hat or jacket for the cameras, but never should he put them on.

10. PROBLEM

Current rule of thumb: "Well we've got two hours here, what can we find to do with him."

SOLUTION

This attitude has led to the President attending too many meaningless events. His events should be carefully chosen, and again coordinated with the image-maker to allow for maximum exposure. Few advance men think in terms of the 20 million or so viewers who will see the coverage, and, as a result, too often decisions are made too often to placate the locals at the expense of the press and the President's image.

11. PROBLEM

Another rule of thumb: The more exposure the better. Maximum exposure!

SOLUTION

This problem begs for the overall coordination of marketing of the image. The Nixon people were very good at this. The President has been hurt by over-exposure. The best way to control this is by keeping him in the White House and bringing the media to him, then having him come out at strategic times achieving the desired effect. But, the travel blitz and indiscriminate choosing of things for the President to do has adversely affected his image.

The President's schedule on the road should be coordinated for maximum media effect. We should know after a pre-advance what picture we want to float. We should know the type of story that should float. If we have no picture, we should then depend on a good and newsworthy speech.

12. PROBLEM

The President's travel schedule is not coordinated with his media campaign.

SOLUTION

Many times we go into a city on an advance and see thousands of dollars worth of advertising on television and radio. And we're fighting to get a crowd to meet the President at the airport. With graphics and radio spots, we could coordinate the two efforts. The overall desired goal should be consistent.

V. SUMMARY

The examples listed in this report all lead to one fundamental conclusion: The President needs an image-maker or producer who coordinates the various elements which influence the viewers.

pages
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM DAVE GERGEN and JERRY JONES (J.J.)

DJ
SUBJECT: The Southern Trip

When originally scheduled, this trip was intended to offset the notion that you were writing off the South. As the momentum has swung in your direction, however, the trip has become more and more an opportunity to score major points in Carter's stronghold -- and to test how much emphasis we can place on the South in order to capture states such as Louisiana, Mississippi and even Alabama.

A key question is what theme you should set for the trip. What headlines are desirable? How much attack is appropriate? Etc. We have discussed this with Bob Teeter tonight and based upon his latest data (Mississippi poll and post-debate poll), here are our joint recommendations:

-- The tone of the trip should be fundamentally positive and show your growing confidence that you have a fighting chance in the South. It would be premature -- and probably not credible -- to say now that you're definitely going to win. But you can clearly be upbeat. For example, you should say, "We're going to surprise a lot of people in the South."

-- Your remarks should not be a direct, frontal attack on Carter. Teeter thinks that Southerners might be offended by this so that it would backfire and mar the tone of the trip. Drawing comparisons between yourself and Carter is fair game. There is

evidence that Carter is now being tied in many voters' minds to the liberal Congress and that Carter suffers worst from being perceived as fuzzy. What you say should reinforce these thoughts. We want to move Carter as far toward Humphrey and the liberals as possible.

-- At the same time, you do not want to appear to be kowtowing to the South and especially to perceived Southern prejudices. If your supporters in Philadelphia find you stressing very conservative Southern themes, they could easily be alienated. Instead of identifying yourself with strictly Southern interests, what you want to do is identify interests of the South with the interests of the entire nation -- interests that you deeply share. You should definitely ask for their votes, and this is the basis upon which you can do it.

-- Teeter strongly recommends that you talk far more about the future than about your record. He suggests you spend two to three times as much on your hopes and goals as on your record. Those who support you for your performance in office already know about the record. The question is how to attract over other voters; and the way that you approach the future as opposed to Carter is one of your most appealing issues for them. This is a view very strongly shared by pollster Al Sindlinger.

-- The key issues that appeal in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama are fairly predictable:

- Holding down government spending;
- Holding down the size of government;
- Holding down taxes;
- Holding down cost of living;
- Maintaining a strong national defense.

These should be done in a way that stresses comparison -- how your programs will make peoples lives better, create more jobs, less inflation, more individual freedom, etc. On the key issues, it is clear that you represent much more faithfully the

interests of the South -- and of the rest of the nation -- than does Mr. Carter. You might even make a point that for years, Southerners told the nation that they should be judged not by their accent or their background but by how much they could contribute to the country. Today you are asking the South not to judge by accent and background but on how much more you can do for the nation.

-- More and more Southerners are coming to appreciate your vetoes, not because they disliked the original bills but because they now see the vetoes as necessary.

-- Louisiana is heavily Catholic, but it is suggested that you not bring up abortion.

-- Ideal story line to come from the trip: Ford Confidently Woos South, Feels He Has Surprising Support. Worst headline: Ford Rips Carter in Deep South. Next worst: Ford Promises Deep South to Work for Them; or Ford Rite Campaign Road Again.

Fred Slight and Agnes Waldron have developed the attached briefing book for you on issues by state.

MEMORANDUM

To: Richard Cheney
From: Robert Teeter
Stu Spencer
Re: Analysis of Early Research
Date: November 12, 1975

F-
Themes



Background

We have for the past year and undoubtedly will be for the next year, an electorate that is more alienated and more cynical than at any point in modern time. These feelings of alienation and cynicism are directed at all major institutions - the government, businesses, unions, school systems, media, churches, and even stores where people shop. While these attitudes are more visible when directed at government, there is ample evidence that many working people distrust their own union as much as they do the corporation they work for. This has resulted in more and more people becoming inner-directed and having as their only goal getting as much as they can get out of the system and putting as little into it as possible.

The common evil most people see in our institutions is their size. Bigness is again and again mentioned as what is wrong. As the society has gotten larger and more complex, individuals have lost their ability to influence any of the institutions that affect their lives. This is against a background of having been taught our system works best when made up of individuals who all act as responsible individuals. This is one of the reasons that there has been a large increase in the number of ad hoc pressure groups formed over the last several years on behalf of all kinds of different courses. People could not find any way to influence these large institutions through established channels.

Many citizens see all the leadership of these large institutions together in a conspiracy against them rather than in any adversary relationship with each other.

Another cause for the increase in alienation and cynicism is a feeling that too many policy decisions that affect individuals have been taken out of any system that has accountability or that they can influence. Major policy decisions that affect them are now made by the courts, the bureaucracy and "The Headquarters" of various organizations. Again, these attitudes are directed at most major institutions, not just the government. People feel that decisions about their jobs, the way their children are educated, how their church functions, and products they buy are made by someone and some place so distant that they can't find anybody to talk to that has any influence over them.

Perception of the President

While the President leads his potential adversaries in almost every state. His support is soft. He is seen as honest, sincere, just and friendly but gets mediocre or relatively poor ratings being competent, strong, intelligent, and a forceful leader. He is seen as someone who is concerned for the average citizen, is trying to do the right thing but not getting results. While people like him and want him to succeed, the single biggest negative is a lack of forceful leadership.

His personal appearance and the family are both significant pluses. He is seen as being handsome, athletic, vigorous and friendly. Large majorities approve of Mrs. Ford's performance as the First Lady and of her speaking out on controversial subject. Significant numbers of people also mention Ford Children in a positive light.

The President has not created any Ford constituency unique from that of any Republican President. The one exception to this is that he does show unique strength with young voters for a Republican. In fact, the age groups that support him at the highest level are those under 35 and over 55. The basis for this support with young voters is his honesty, friendliness, candor and the Family. He has, however, some problems with those in the middle age group (35-55) which are the largest voting groups. This weakness is caused by the recession. These are the age groups that are made up largely of working people who are feeling squeezed and threatened by inflation and unemployment. Almost the entire dip the President experienced in the national polls in the last 60-90 days has been confined to the eastern regional counties.

While only about half of the voters feel they know very much about Reagan or what he stands for, the Republicans who do have a very positive perception of him. He is perceived bold, decisive, strong, intelligent and competent and this perception is held with almost no negatives. Moreover, when Reagan and the President were compared on the handling of a series of issues of foreign affairs and dealing with Congress, Reagan is close to or ahead of the President in being seen as able to handle inflation, unemployment, government spending, and crime. Obviously it is important that we don't get into the position of having to fight Reagan or any Democrat issue by issue.

Style

The key to reinforcing and improving the President's perception over the next few months is the style in which he handles the job of being President. We should remember the campaign advertising will be only a smaller portion of the President's total exposure. Research has shown that the perceived style of leadership is by far the most important thing to most voters in evaluating officeholders and candidates. This does not necessarily mean the way they dress or their manner of speech, but the style with which they evaluate issues and make decisions. Several elements of style ought to be emphasized during the next few months.

1. He needs to appear more presidential. While his warm friendly manner has served him well, he does not have any of the aura of being President. Also, appearing more presidential should help to improve his perception as being knowledgeable and competent. The various arrangements for his foreign travels should be thought through with this domestic consumption in mind. We need a little more "Hail to the Chief."
2. His warm, friendly, honest, and candid manner has served him well and he ought not to do the things that undermine this. He shouldn't sound strident and certainly should not say things that most people don't think are true. For example, in the press conference Monday night, the President said he was pleased with the political situation in the country now because we had peace and prosperity. The fact is a majority of people think things are worse now than they were two or three years ago, that we don't have prosperity.
3. We badly need to find some positions and issues where the President can violate his stereo-type as a classic Republican. The problem is every position or statement he has made recently has been something that would have been expected from a Republican President, even though a majority of the voters may agree with him, e.g. budget cuts, food stamps, vetoes of spending programs. There is research that indicates that when an individual violates his stereotype, many of the aspects of that stereo-type which might have been previously perceived to be negative are then seen as positive, i.e. - Nixon going to China, and Jerry Brown talking about cutting out government programs and spending in California, etc. We need to find issues and positions the President can take in the next few months that he or any Republican President would not be expected to advocate.

4. He ought to stay away from all the traditional Republican clichés, particularly those about the budget, government spending, and a strong national defense. Many of his ideas in these areas are shared by the majority voters but the old-time Republican political rhetoric makes them sound political and doesn't communicate the positives of the idea.
5. Talking about his proposals and programs, he is failing to communicate with a large share of the voters. They simply can't relate \$28 billion or even a few million of dollars to their personal situation. We need to use as many simple expressions as possible and everytime the President talks about or proposes something new, his statement or speech has got to be interpreted very simply how it's going to affect the citizens he needs to help. Every speech and statement needs to be a bottom line. It is impossible to oversimplify or repeat too often the positive aspects of the President's program. When the President talks about his programs or proposals, he should always interpret in terms of benefiting people and not talk about them in terms of how they affect institutions. Everyone in the Administration seems prone to talk about business, labor, government, education, Capital, etc., and not people.
6. Even though, he is a candidate and will be engaged in a political campaign all next year, he ought to remain as non-political and as far from the battle as possible. Every time he gives a hard, strident political speech, he hurts his strongest point, and that is his perception as being honest, candid and fair.

Theme

The President, the Administration and the campaign need a theme. I am concerned that the President is seen as a tactician without an overall strategy of his plan for the country. This lets voters and his opponents interpret many of his perceptions and programs as those done for political expedience or to appease special interest groups rather than as part of an overall plan to move the country toward a perceived set of goals or objectives.

We need an umbrella under which we can put all of the President's programs and end up with the whole being greater than the sum of its parts.

The President needs to set forth in a major speech sometime soon his idea for what the destiny of the country is and how his programs relates to it. I think the backbone of this theme ought to be anti-bigness. He ought to be against big government, big unions, big businesses, big school systems and the concentration of power in general.

At the same time he needs to be for individuals. Everything he advocates ought to be seen as helping the individual live his life as independently as possible and help him relate to the institution in a large complex society.

There are several advantages to this type of theme. First of all, it fits his style and ideas. Secondly, it can be very presidential and puts him on the high road for the campaign. Also it keeps him away from having to fight the election on a series of individual issues which, as an incumbent with a pessimistic public, would be difficult to win. Lastly, it would appeal to the Press, to Republicans and to Independents.

In addition to the anti-bigness or concentration of power idea, the theme ought to have a strong moral tone and one of hope. One of the problems with the issues now, and over the last several years, is that there is no element of hope which has been the underlying theme of successful politicians for many years.

Given the relatively short period of time, we have to set perceptions. It would be useful if the theme of the President's program were given a name soon. We have to set the perceptions. The hope element was implicit in the name "New Deal," "Fair Deal," "New Frontier" and "Great Society." While it is important not to over-promise and to be responsible, we have to communicate that things can and will get better over the next few years with Gerald Ford as President.

While we want as wide as coverage as possible to such a speech, it would be most effective if given somewhere other than a joint session of Congress which epitomizes the establishment and the concentration of power in Washington. A youthful audience somewhere outside of Washington would probably be best.



ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS

Detente is a particularly unpopular idea with most Republican primary voters and the word is worse. We ought to stop using the word whenever possible.

There are not enough people out talking about the President positively. We particularly need more people from the Administration and Congress out, not only defending the President but boosting him. Probably the most single successful part of the '72 campaign was the surrogate program and something like it needs to be established.

The key perception between Reagan and Ford with the primary voters is not ideology as much as degrees of Republicanism. There are three groups of Republican primary voters, the hard-core Republican, the more moderate-liberal independent ticket-splitting group, and the third group made up of the hard-core right (only about 5%) and of independent and new Republicans who tend to be lower socio-economic than others. The President is doing well with the first two groups while most of Reagan's support comes from the third. It is very important in the primary that the President be perceived as a regular Republican candidate as Reagan is seen as the dissident. This is why the endorsement of respected, Conservative Republican officeholders and politicians is particularly important at this time as to destroy Reagan's credibility as a loyal Republican.



Campaign '76

Media Communications, Inc.

1028 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 833-8558

April 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO:

ROGERS MORTON

FROM:

BRUCE WAGNER

SUBJECT:

RONALD REAGAN

This is to recommend execution of a five-minute television commercial by President Ford designed to attack the basic premise of Ronald Reagan's candidacy. This advertising will be used in Texas and appropriate for use in the following primaries.

Advertising Objectives

This commercial has several objectives:

1. Reinforce the leadership perception of President Ford as the leader of all the American people.
2. Expose the shallowness of Ronald Reagan's negative appeal.
3. Ensure continued momentum for the President's campaign effort just prior to Election Day by providing a dramatic focal point for media and voter consideration.

Background

In recent weeks, Ronald Reagan has demonstrated his ability to revitalize his campaign with a series of highly personalized half-hour television addresses. These messages have:

1. cast the Reagan candidacy in a more "Presidential" communications posture,
2. created an effective dialogue with the voter,
3. perhaps improved Reagan's image as a knowledgeable critic of the Ford Administration, and
4. crystallized his contrasting stance on certain campaign issues, particularly defense.



Through this effective change in campaign tactic, it appears that Reagan has begun to seize the campaign momentum that had previously belonged to President Ford.

Nevertheless, it is our judgement that Ronald Reagan's apparent success using lengthy commercial messages does not hinge exclusively on the specifics of a defense argument. Rather, these messages capitalize on an existing perception of indecisive leadership with President Ford, and the lack of clear voter comprehension of current defense/foreign policy.

As such, a dramatic response and argument on the limited focus of national defense is insufficient...a continuing argument may even provide credibility to the charge while quietly recalling the existing impressions of indecisive leadership. Rather, we must assert a strong leadership stance by the President.

Recommended Message

The message must be that the American public is being misled by ambitious, irresponsible campaign rhetoric. The President must deliver a personal message to the American public...and communicate his saddened, somewhat righteous indignation with his challenger. Importantly, Ronald Reagan must not be mentioned or singled-out of the group of Presidential aspirants, but it must be implied that

He is an irresponsible and ambitious man. He has sacrificed his principles for ambition.

He must be depicted as naive.

He would commit our young men to another "Vietnam war" in Africa or elsewhere.

His "eyeball-to-eyeball" diplomacy really means nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

In a nutshell, we must go for the jugular and eliminate the credibility of the Reagan candidacy.

It is recommended that the President carryout this responsibility with a five-minute Presidential message to the American people from the Oval Office. The commercial will be aired one week before the May 1st Texas Primary. This timing will allow dramatic impact during the crucial days just prior to Election Day with sufficient time for non-paid media coverage and voter assimilation.



Discussion

1. The Texas Primary offers us the opportunity to cut the Reagan candidacy down once and for all. Ronald Reagan has the capacity to do a great deal of damage to the President's autumn election effort... and recent events indicate he will not be swayed by discussions of Republican Party unity. Clearly, Reagan believes his hard-hitting campaign against the President will enable him to gain the Republican nomination.

He must be stopped in Texas. A loss in Texas will most likely end his challenge... a win in Texas will most likely allow him to go into Kansas City via California with momentum.

2. The concept of jeopardizing Republican Party unity is not as valid as it once was. Rather, the message should be that irresponsible criticism, particularly without specific counter-proposals, can jeopardize the national interest.
3. President Ford should not attempt an itemized response to each criticism or allegation of candidate Reagan. It would demean the prestige of the Office and the President. In addition, it could begin an endless, no-win debate since some criticisms, particularly those relating to defense, do not have simple, obvious answers. The results could be increased publicity for Reagan contrasted against a spectre of over-reaction by the President.

Conversely, President Ford has a responsibility to correct false allegations that jeopardize the national interest and mislead both the American people and foreign governments. He has the obligation to draw the line between responsible criticism and irresponsible political opportunism, whether it relates to domestic policy or America's role as a world power.

4. We must respond promptly to the Reagan attack on a national basis prior to the Texas Primary simply because an unusually strong response by President Ford will be too late in the California Primary -- the impression of a hard-hitting Ford campaign in California would be one of a last-ditch, desperate effort by the President. Clearly, Texas is the place for aggression and initiative.

Let's discuss this subject as soon as possible.

cc: Stu Spencer
Roy Hughes
Peter Dailey
Bob Teeter



4. It may be time for us to help put the bright light on Reagan. No one yet has really gone after his record as Governor of California or his 90 billion dollar proposal which most of the press people recognize as unwise, unworkable and a political blunder. While the President certainly shouldn't do this and the majority of it should be reserved until after the new year, I think we need one recognized, respected public figure to make a tough, blunt statement on just what Reagan's record is and what he might do to the country, let alone the Republican Party before Christmas. This person should not be directly connected with the President Ford Committee nor should he be seen as a member of the liberal wing of the Republican Party. He should be someone like Laird or Rogers Morton.

One further note is that the President's political travel is going to get blamed (and probably rightly) for a share of this downturn. It is my belief that it is not the fact that he traveled as much as he did during the past few months as much as what he said and how he said it that hurt him. I think he could have made most of the trips and gone to most of the fund-raisers if he would have avoided the partisan rhetoric and talked to the country as President in each of these appearances rather than to the narrow partisan audiences. This is easy to say with the benefit of hindsight, but I think it once again points out how very important style of leadership, that is the way he does what he does, is to his perception. Also the fact that anything he does is seen and heard by the entire country, not just his actual audience or those who live in the region he happens to be in.

December 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BO CALLAWAY

FROM:

ROBERT TEETER *RT*

SUBJECT:

Momentum

The Gallup Poll is a further indication that we have a serious momentum problem. However, in attempting to slow Reagan down and regain the momentum for the President, there are several things we should keep in mind.

1. Without a Mayaguez or something comparable that we don't see in the immediate future, there is probably no one thing the President can do to himself to turn this situation around. Moreover, we ought not to be looking for something spectacular but rather develop a plan in conjunction with the White House to work our way out of this problem over the next six weeks.
2. The Christmas lull may well be the best thing we have going for us in that it should blunt Reagan's momentum and give us the opportunity to start anew after the first of the year. However, what the President does over Christmas may be significant. Whatever he does should be seen as working at the Presidency and if he goes to Colorado for Christmas, it should be for a minimum amount of time, the family tradition and family get-together aspect emphasized, and it be seen as a working vacation.
3. We need people out talking about the President, explaining, agreeing with, and praising his actions. Most of the things that need to be said about the President are things he can't say himself. There needs to be a planned series of speeches, interviews, etc., over the next two or three months by administration officials and other public figures talking about President Ford, what he is trying to do and what he has accomplished. This needs to be happening in the various regions of the country every day during the early months of next year.

September 26, 1975

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD
DICK CHENEY

FROM:

JERRY H. JONES

Two comments concerning Ronald Reagan have come to my attention over the last few days:

1. Lee Nunn spent last weekend and the beginning of this week in Kentucky; during his visit he apparently had the opportunity to talk to Louie about Reagan's intentions. Lee returned to Washington convinced that Reagan was not in fact going to run but was going to keep the option open perhaps even to the convention. Apparently Reagan feels that this is his most advantageous position if he is to force the President to the right and/or keep the option open in case the President stumbles. In short, Lee does not think Reagan, in the end, is going to run against the President.

2. Bill Gulley spent an hour and a half or so with Richard Nixon in San Clemente last weekend. RN made one observation to Bill that he asked be passed on. RN feels that Ronald Reagan is a lightweight and not someone to be considered seriously or feared in terms of a challenge for the nomination. He further feels that we are building Reagan into a more formidable opponent than would be the case otherwise by responding to him in terms of our trip schedule and how we talk about Reagan's entering the race. He therefore recommends that we take it easy and not build up Reagan in any way through our actions or words.



JIMMY CARTER WALTER MONDALE



Leaders, for a change.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...

November 3, 1976

The Honorable Gerald Ford
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I want to advise you that I am designating Mr. Jack H. Watson, Jr. as my principal representative for coordination of transition arrangements. By copy of this letter, I am delegating to Mr. Watson the authority to represent me and to speak for me in matters related to the Presidential Transition Act. Under this delegation, Mr. Watson, or such individuals as he may designate in writing, will make official requests of the Administrator of GSA for the services and funds authorized under the Presidential Transition Act. He is also authorized to request of the Attorney General such assistance as may be required in securing FBI investigations of potential appointees.

Mr. Watson has been directed by me to coordinate his activities with those White House officials designated by you. I appreciate your cooperation.

Respectfully,


Jimmy Carter
President-Elect



cc: Mr. Jack H. Watson, Jr.

